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Message Text

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PAGE 01 DAR ES 02654 211407Z
ACTION NODS-00

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C O N F I D E N T I A L DAR ES SALAAM 2654

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR, US, TZ
SUBJECT: THOUGHTS ON PRESIDENT NYERERE'S LETTER TO
PRESIDENT CARTER

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 2633

1. WE FORWARD BELOW OUR ESTIMATE OF WHAT NYERERE SAID IN HIS LETTER TRANSMITTED REFTEL, WHAT HE MEANT, AND WHAT MIGHT BE SAID IN RESPONSE.

2. WHAT NYERERE SAID. WE SEE THREE PRINCIPAL POINTS IN HIS LETTER:

A) HE IS CRITICAL THAT AFRICA IS THE PLAYGROUND OF THE MIGHTY. THE "RESCUE OPERATION" IN SHABA, WHICH EXPLOITED AFRICA'S WEAKNESS, IS A GOOD EXAMPLE.

B) MOBUTU IS THE HEART OF THE PROBLEM IN ZAIRE. HE SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO FALL OF HIS OWN WEIGHT. MOBUTU SHOULD NOT BE SUPPORTED ECONOMICALLY AS THIS HELP WILL ENABLE HIM TO AVOID COMING TO POLITICAL TERMS WITH HIS OPPONENTS. ECONOMIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE "REFORMS" ARE NOT AN ADEQUATE BASIS FOR SUPPORTING MOBUTU. SUPPORT BY THE WEST WILL GIVE IT A NEO-COLONIAL DOMINANCE OVER ZAIRE.
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C) WHEN NECESSARY AND WHEN INVITED, THE CUBANS AND SOVIETS HELP OFFSET THE WEST'S ECONOMIC DOMINANCE OF AFRICA.

3. WHAT NYERERE MEANT. HE MEANT WHAT HE SAID THROUGHOUT THE LETTER, WHICH HE WROTE HIMSELF, BUT WE BELIEVE THERE ARE TWO ADDITIONAL IDEAS BEHIND THE LETTER.

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A) MORE THAN JUST THE PAN-AFRICAN PEACE-KEEPING FORCE (THE MAIN SUBJECT OF NYERERE'S PREVIOUS LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER, IN DAR ES SALAAM 2369) IS ON NYERERE'S MIND. HIS INITIAL ALARM ABOUT SHABA IS OVER. NOW THAT HE IS BEING CHALLENGED ON ACCEPTING GREATER SOVIET AND CUBAN ACTIVITY HE WANTS TO GET OUT ON THE TABLE HIS BASIC THOUGHTS ABOUT EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION IN AFRICA, ESPECIALLY THE PROBLEM OF ECONOMIC DOMINANCE OF AFRICA BY THE CAPITALIST WEST.

B) NYERERE STILL WANTS TO CONTINUE THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US. HE MAY BE GETTING THE IDEA THAT A USEFUL RELATIONSHIP CAN CONTINUE EVEN WHERE THERE ARE DIFFERENCES ON BIG ISSUES. (NYERERE IS NOT TOLERANT OF DISAGREEMENT IN HIS OWN GOVERNMENT AND HE HAS TENDED TO VIEW SIGNIFICANT BILATERAL RELATIONS AS REQUIRING A VERY BROAD IDENTITY OF VIEWS)

4. WHAT MIGHT BE SAID IN RESPONSE.

A) NYERERE SHOULD BE REASSURED ABOUT THE USE OF US POWER IN AFRICA. SPECIFIC REASSURANCE ON ZAIRE SEEMS UNNECESSARY AS HE DID NOT MENTION THE PAN-AFRICAN FORCE. WE SEE NO ADVANTAGE IN CONTINUING TO ELICIT NYERERE'S VIEWS ON SOVIETS AND CUBANS.

B) THE THEMES COULD BE REPEATED THAT US POLICY ON AFRICA DOES NOT AUTOMATICALLY 1) SWING BEHIND WESTERN EUROPEAN POSI-
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TIONS ON THAT SUBJECT, OR 2) FORCUS ON OPPOSING SOVIET OR CUBAN ACTIVITIES.

C) IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO PICK UP ON THE IDEA OF EASING HOSTILITIES BETWEEN ZAIRE AND ANGOLA. IF APPROPRIATE, MENTION COULD BE MADE THAT US WILL TRY TO PERSUADE MOBUTU AGAINST ALLOWING FNLA CROSS-BORDER ACTIVITIES. MCHENRY'S VISIT TO LUANDA MIGHT BE MENTIONED.

D) THIS MAY BE THE TIME FOR A FAIRLY FULL EXPOSITION TO NYERERE OF US THINKING ON ZAIRE. NYERERE WILL NOT AGREE WITH US VIEWS BUT MAY RECEIVE THEM AS PART OF A FRANK RELATIONSHIP IF US INTERESTS IN AND HOPES FOR ZAIRE ARE SPECIFIED.

E) OUR REPLY SHOULD BE REAONABLY COMPREHENSIVE AND SUB-STANTIVE SINCE AN OBVIOUSLY MUCH SHORTER AND CRISPER RESPONSE WOULD LEND ITSELF TO INTERPRETATION AS A CUTTING DOWN OF THE DIALOGUE. HOWEVER, NYERERE'S LAST LETTER PROBABLY REPRESENTS ABOUT ALL HE HAS TO SAY ON AFRICA AT THIS TIME, AND WE THINK THE VOLUME AND PACE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE COULD SLOW DOWN A BIT NOW. SHOULD PRESIDENT CARTER FIND AN OPPOR-TUNITY TO USE PUBLICLY A PHRASE OR AN IDEA FROM NYERERE'S

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LETTER, THIS WOULD HAVE A FAVORABLE IMPACT ON NYERERE. TIME
PERMITTING, WE WOULD WELCOME AN OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT ON
A DRAFT REPLY.
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